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Date **26 AUG 1985**

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CONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20306

May 8, 1985

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MEMORANDUM FOR []

Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT: Central America and the Human Cost of Communism []

Attached is an outline of the history of the human cost of communism and how the pattern of these costs has been repeating itself in Nicaragua. We request that you coordinate with the Department of State in filling in the latest facts and figures (including, where appropriate, low and high estimates), conforming to the headings (Sections IIA and IIC) in the attached outline as they refer to: 1) to the human costs communism has inflicted in all existing Marxist-Leninist states, and 2) to the human costs as they have begun to display themselves in Nicaragua. []

A draft should be ready for submission by COB, Friday, June 21. (U)

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

cc: Mr. Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary
Department of State

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Declassify on: OADR

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*Received in 5/5-I
5/8 at 2:52 pm (8/7)*

The Human Cost of Communism:
The Central American Experience in Historical Perspective

I. Human Suffering Caused by Communism — Statistics

- A. Murders
- B. Refugees — including forced exile
- C. Political Prisoners and Slave Laborers
- D. Internal Relocation

II. The Quality of Life Under Communism

A. Basic Human Needs

- 1. Destruction of the Consumer Economy: Central Planning, Collectivization, Food Rationing, Famine, etc.
- 2. Destruction of Medical Care (Scarcity of Medical Supplies)
- 3. Destruction of Housing Market
 - a. Deterioration of existing housing
 - b. No new construction (compare with population growth)
- 4. Spiritual and Psychic Needs
 - a. Religion
 - b. Culture
 - c. Historical and national heritage
 - C. Social and family life
 - Sex
 - Friendship (trust)

B. Human Rights

- 1. No Consent of the Governed: Rulers Assume Power by Conspiracy and Force
- 2. No Due Process: "Revolutionary" Justice on Class Basis
- 3. No Freedom of Speech, etc.
- 4. Destruction and Subversion of Religion
- 5. No Freedom of Association: Destruction of all Islands of Autonomy -- Unions, Family, Ethnic Groups, Churches, Fraternal Organizations, Private Business, etc.
- 6. No Freedom to Travel, Emigrate

C. Internal Security System

- 1. Formation of a Party Organization
- 2. Official Ideology: Sets Standard for Conformity and Deviationism
- 3. Secret Police
- 4. Block Committees: System of Informants
- 5. Official Terrorism and Harassment
- 6. Control over Economy: Credit, Production and Distribution
- 7. Control over Educational System
- 8. Monopoly of Information and Ideas: The Propaganda Apparatus
- 9. Literacy Campaign: Part of that Apparatus
- 10. The Military: Party and not National Army; Militarization of Society
 - a. Instrument of coercion
 - b. Vehicle of political indoctrination
- 11. Reliance on Soviet and Soviet Proxy Support — Military and Security Police
- 12. Control over Individual Life: Housing, Job, Pension, Internal Passports, Salary, Oil and Gas Quota

III. Export of Communism and Terrorism: Vehicle to Achieve Legitimacy and to Keep Society Mobilized versus "Enemies"

**IV. The Case of Nicaragua: The Beginnings of a Communist Holocaust
(Repeat above outline.)**

Frank talk about dangers

Forces bound by a common thread

It is often unpleasant to resurrect what many think are the unpleasant ghosts of the past. Unfortunately, that is what we do when we talk frankly about the forces of "international communism" at work in our hemisphere.

It has long been politically the safe thing to do to ridicule any mention of this alleged phenomenon. Professors and pundits have assured us for years that "international communism" as such no longer really exists — which is why it is ridiculed as a "phantom," the object of irrational phobias of extremists, know-nothings, or people living in the past.

It has been explained to us that we can no longer clinically and accurately use this loaded expression because of the Sino-Soviet split, the Yugoslav-Soviet split, the Albanian-Soviet split, and other manifestations of polycentrism.

Perhaps, indeed, communism is no longer a monolithic force subsuming all Marxist-Leninist states under the Soviet banner. Nevertheless, how can one label the presence today in Nicaragua of Cubans, Bulgarians, Libyans, Czechs, North Koreans, East Germans, Vietnam-

ese, Soviets, and Communist elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization?

If this is not some facsimile of international communism, then we are at a loss as to how to explain the common thread that binds these forces together. If we must pay our dues to the gods of polycentrism, then perhaps we might refine our terminology by calling this phenomenon "Soviet international communism," since neither Maoist, Titoist,

communism. Never in history has a majority of a free electorate democratically chosen a *Communist* form of government. (There is only one exception: the minuscule state of San Marino. In the case of Chile, Mr. Allende, although a Marxist, did not run for office as a Communist with a Communist Party in tow, or with an avowedly Communist political program. Neither did he win a majority of the vote.)

• Communists have always come to power through violent takeovers. These takeovers have always involved seizure of power by a well-



or Albanian brands of communism are at work here.

Since we so rarely discuss the facts about international communism as such, there are a few which should be remembered in the context of our current debate on Nicaragua:

• The people do not want

organized and externally assisted minority over an unorganized and unwitting majority. Such takeovers consistently entail the use of a "popular front" of Communist and non-Communist elements; the establishment of a Communist Party

see LENCZOWSKI, page 2D

John Lenczowski is director, European and Soviet affairs, at the National Security Council.

Washington Times

6 June 1985

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LEWIS

From page 1D

which uses an ideological party line to enforce internal conformity and identify and eliminate deviationists; the use of camouflage to disguise the party's true intentions and full political program; the use of propaganda and disinformation to manipulate the international media; the use of violent and ruthless methods to eliminate all organized opposition, including ethnic minorities, organized religion, non-government-controlled media and the "class enemy;" and finally, the use of gradualism in the process of eliminating opposition and implementing internal security — so that the people do not realize what is happening to them until it is too late.

- No Communist regime that has consolidated its power has ever been overthrown and replaced by a non-Communist order. (The only exception is Grenada). Every other form of government offers people the chance to retain a system of trial and error. It is easy to overthrow a Shah or a Somoza after trial has been granted and error perceived. But once communism is firmly in place, the possibility of trial and error is no more.

A vote against aid to the Freedom Fighters is a vote to consign Nicaragua to an indefinite period of no freedom of choice.

- The human cost of communism wildly exceeds most Americans' expectations.

The numbers of people murdered by Communist regimes (outside of war deaths) are approximately: low estimate, 60 million; high estimate (more accurate in light of recent scholarship), 150 million.

The greatest tide of refugees in world history flows from Communist states to non-Communist ones: today it comes from Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Indochina, East Europe, and Nicaragua. (During the entire Vietnam War there was nary a refugee fleeing from Indochina. It was not until communism triumphed that life became so unbearable that people who could withstand decades of war fled to the seas).

Communism invented the concentration camp. Millions have been imprisoned, executed, or worked and starved to death in these camps. Communist regimes will not permit enterprising Western reporters anywhere near these camps, so you don't hear about them on the evening news.

Communist regimes recognize no restraint on their absolute power.

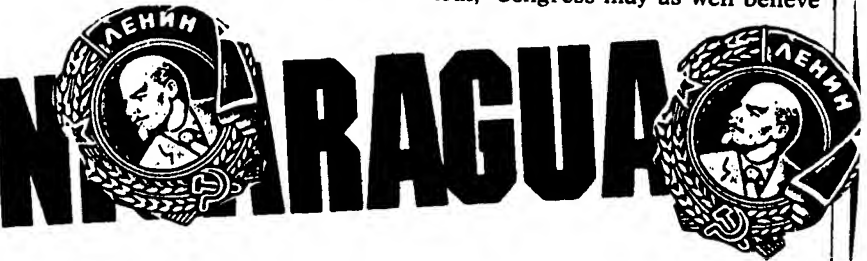
repeating itself in Nicaragua. There can be no doubt, given the vast evidence we have accumulated, that Nicaragua is becoming another Cuba.

• Communist regimes, including the Nicaragua regime, spend vast resources on disinformation — to deceive the international media and foreign political decision-makers.

A principal goal is to disseminate false information about the nature of their own system: the principal disinformation theme of all Communist regimes is to convince others that they are not really Communist.

This is done in many ways by the Sandinistas but most prominently by the "guided tour." Countless American visitors are taken on this guided tour and see nice things and talk to "average citizens" who tell them what the regime wants them to hear.

Nobody wants to believe that he has been or can be fooled. But if Congress is to believe the testimony of constituents and reporters who base their information on the "guided tour," Congress may as well believe



and political control of education and culture; the rewriting of history, and the destruction of monuments to the national heritage; and the assault on family life and parental jurisdiction over children.

- Soviet-style communism invariably means the export of terrorism, violence, and revolution to other countries. Soviet proxy states participate in an efficient division of labor in this sphere: Cubans as troops, Bulgarians and Vietnamese as arms suppliers, East Germans as secret police trainers and military advisers, etc.

Since it is Soviet and not Albanian proxies who are present on our continent today, it is not an accident that the Communist Sandinista regime is an active collaborator in this division of labor.

- The Sandinistas are Communists. As Defense Minister Ortega said: "Marxism-Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution . . . without Sandinismo we cannot be Marxist-Leninist and Sandinismo without Marxism-Leninism cannot be revolutionary."

The identical pattern of Communist takeover methods, internal policies, and external behavior is

everything they are told on the identical guided tours in Moscow, Havana, East Germany, North Korea or any other totalitarian state.

Congress must decide whether it will resist international communism on our continent or let it prosper. Isolationists in the Congress may base their opposition to the administration on the principle that other countries should be allowed self-determination.

Unfortunately, in Nicaragua today there can be no self-determination, because of the reality of "foreign-force determination." The foreign force is the Soviet Union and its proxies, otherwise known as the forces of international communism.

Will the Nicaraguan people be given enough assistance so that they will be able to determine their future on the basis of a balance of foreign forces, or will Congress permit an imbalance, an imbalance against democracy, an imbalance against any system of trial and error?

If Congress chooses to deny the Nicaraguan friends of democracy a chance for self-determination, it will be voting in favor of the first victory of the Soviet strategic offensive on our own continent.

~~TOP SECRET~~
Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D.C. 20505

DDI- 04256-85

23 August 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: David E. Randolph
Office of Public Diplomacy for
Latin America and Caribbean, S/LPD
Department of State

SUBJECT: Central America and the Human Cost of Communism

REFERENCE: NSC ES Memo of 8 May 1985, same subject

25X1 1. Reference memorandum sought our input on "The Human Costs of Communism: The Central American Experience in Historical Perspective." []

25X1 2. We have provided you such information we have on Central America, and especially the Nicaraguan aspect. Regarding the broader question of the human costs in all Marxist-Leninist states, we have combed our intelligence files and I enclose copies of these reports that may have some relevance. This particular topic has not been the object of substantial targeted intelligence research. There may be some material available in the open literature, and an external contract with an academic specialist might well be a substantially more fruitful avenue to pursue if additional information is required. []

25X1 3. I regret we could not be more helpful in this, and if there are some specific intelligence questions for which we can provide support, please let me know. []

25X1 []
Executive Assistant to the DDI

Attachments:
CIA Reports

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SEPARATED FROM TCS ATTACHMENT.

~~TOP SECRET~~

CL BY SIGNER

SUBJECT: Central America and the Human Cost of Communism

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